

# Kunapipi

---

Volume 20 | Issue 1

Article 7

---

1998

## What Does Mr Swanzy Want? Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature

Philip Nanton

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Nanton, Philip, What Does Mr Swanzy Want? Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature, *Kunapipi*, 20(1), 1998.  
Available at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol20/iss1/7>

Research Online is the open access institutional repository for the University of Wollongong. For further information contact the UOW Library: [research-pubs@uow.edu.au](mailto:research-pubs@uow.edu.au)

---

## What Does Mr Swanzy Want? Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature

### Abstract

In November 1954, after a period of eight years as editor of the BBC radio programme Caribbean Voices, Henry Swanzy left London for Accra to take up a further appointment in broadcasting. Those eight years established for him a unique position in Caribbean literature. He had presided over a series of regular weekly programmes, at first lasting 20 minutes and then 29 minutes after 1947. These programmes became, perhaps, the most important focus for the development and promotion of the region's literary output. Swanzy estimated that the programmes' first six years introduced to its audience over 150 different contributors from the English-speaking Caribbean.

PHILIP NANTON

## What Does Mr Swanzy Want? Shaping or Reflecting? An Assessment of Henry Swanzy's Contribution to the Development of Caribbean Literature

In November 1954, after a period of eight years as editor of the BBC radio programme *Caribbean Voices*, Henry Swanzy left London for Accra to take up a further appointment in broadcasting. Those eight years established for him a unique position in Caribbean literature. He had presided over a series of regular weekly programmes, at first lasting 20 minutes and then 29 minutes after 1947. These programmes became, perhaps, the most important focus for the development and promotion of the region's literary output. Swanzy estimated that the programmes' first six years introduced to its audience over 150 different contributors from the English-speaking Caribbean. In the life of the programme some 400 stories and poems were broadcast. Listeners were offered stories, poetry, plays and literary criticism beamed through the static of the short wave band and intermittently re-diffused by local commercial radio stations. The programme helped to launch the careers of many authors including a number who have achieved international fame as poets, playwrights, artists and musicians; notably, the Nobel Prize winning St. Lucian Derek Walcott, Edward Kamau Brathwaite and George Lamming from Barbados, V.S. Naipaul and the late Sam Selvon from Trinidad, Gloria Escoffery, John Figueroa and the late Andrew Salkey from Jamaica, Wilson Harris and Ian McDonald from Guyana and the late E.M. 'Shake' Keane from St. Vincent. Two volumes of poetry which had been broadcast on the programme were compiled and edited by John Figueroa.<sup>1</sup>

In the Caribbean, the years 1943-1958, the period in which the programme was broadcast, coincided with a peak of nationalist sentiment and activity. These aspirations were gradually given recognition and legitimacy by the British colonial authorities. In 1944, Jamaica obtained home rule, Trinidad was granted universal suffrage in 1945; the short lived West Indian Federation commenced in 1958. By the early 1960s, independent island

nations were becoming established in the region as first Jamaica then other islands were granted political independence. Swanzy could have been written off as a white colonial male, intervening in West Indian literary development, an outsider imposing an alien notion of 'standards' on a region with which, at the start of his appointment, he was unfamiliar.

However, his departure from the programme brought many messages of appreciation from writers across the Caribbean and in London. In 1955, just after Swanzy left the programme, the *Times Literary Supplement* noted 'West Indian writers freely acknowledge their debt to the BBC for its encouragement, financial and aesthetic. Without that encouragement the birth of a Caribbean literature would have been slower and even more painful than it has been.'<sup>2</sup> Edward 'Kamau' Brathwaite has claimed that *Caribbean Voices* 'was the single most important literary catalyst for Caribbean creative and critical writing in English'. George Lamming has suggested that 'no comprehensive account of writing in the British Caribbean during the last decade could be written without considering his whole achievement and his role in the emergence of the West Indian novel'.<sup>3</sup> V.S. Naipaul has noted that Swanzy brought to the programme 'standards and enthusiasm. He took local writing seriously and lifted it above the local'.<sup>4</sup> Anne Walmsley the historian of the *Caribbean Artists Movement 1966-1972*, has praised Swanzy's pioneering editorship.<sup>5</sup>

How might these plaudits be assessed, especially since the nature of Swanzy's contribution has, for the most part, remained obscure? To what extent did such an influential programme *shape* or *reflect* the pattern of Caribbean literature as it developed? Cobham has analysed the different styles of the editorship of *Caribbean Voices*, contrasting the programmes under the 'English' style of Swanzy and the 'West Indian' style of the programme under his successor, Naipaul.<sup>6</sup> Figueroa (1989) has explored his perceptions of the influence of 'Caribbean Voices' both as a participant and as a chronicler of the poetry from many of the programmes<sup>7</sup>. However, little has been recorded about the direction or form of Swanzy's nurturing process for Caribbean literature.

The paper that follows provides an exploration of the scope of Swanzy's achievement. It is argued that two important features, the circumstances surrounding the production of the programme and the strategy he pursued, provided an identifiable intermediary role which gave shape and direction well beyond what might be expected of a radio programme; that is, a mere reflection of developments in Caribbean literature. Additionally, it was a shaping with which authors, for the most part, were in sympathy.

In presenting the argument I draw on published secondary sources and on primary sources. The latter are in the form of previously undocumented communications between Swanzy and his formal agent in Jamaica, Mrs G.R. Lindo; other correspondents in the Caribbean; contributors to the programme in the United Kingdom and BBC archive interviews.

### The Opportunity for Shaping

The opportunity for Swanzy to shape developments in Caribbean literature was provided by three important circumstances. One was an effective mechanism for the recruitment of original material. The second was the ability of the BBC to pay for contributions which were used. The third was the considerable level of interest among many writers across the region in writing and in being published. Altogether, these circumstances combined to stimulate a considerable range of contributions for the programme.

*Caribbean Voices* was first broadcast on the BBC West Indian Service in March 1943. The programme was broadcast for 15 years until 1958. The idea for a Caribbean literary programme originated with the Jamaican poet and playwright Una Marson, who was the programme's first producer. During the Second World War, Marson was central to the production of a programme for West Indian servicemen and women, 'Calling the West Indies', which established links with families in their home islands. Jarrett-Macauley suggests that her idea for the programme, *Caribbean Voices*, derived from the wartime poetry programme *Voices*, edited by Eric Blair (George Orwell).<sup>8</sup> Marson produced early editions of *Caribbean Voices* until 1945, when she returned to Jamaica. In the interim, before Swanzy was appointed to the editorship in August 1946, the programme was managed by John Grenfell Williams who established a regional BBC office in Jamaica. He appointed a literary agent, Mrs G.R. Lindo, to stimulate contributions from the region, to act as the contact point for local authors and to disburse local payments to contributors. Before this system was established, however, programmes took the form of readings from work published in papers such as the *Yearbook of the Poetry League of Jamaica*.<sup>9</sup> When Swanzy took over the editorship in 1946, the practice of collating original and unpublished scripts regionally and sending them on to London was established. Twice a month manuscripts were sent to Swanzy in London via Jamaica. There selections were made and edited by Swanzy, and the rest returned via the official agent in Jamaica with comments about their quality, style or relevance for the programme. In 1951, Cedric Lindo, the husband of his official agent Mrs G.R. Lindo, estimated that there were 200 authors on file across the region.<sup>10</sup> In a three year period Swanzy estimated that he had read some 750 manuscripts which had been submitted.

Secondly, the literary world of the region to which the early programmes of '*Caribbean Voices*' was broadcast was restricted and uneven. Few outlets for publishing existed, those which did exist comprised *Forum Quarterly* in Barbados, *The Beacon* in Trinidad and the *West Indian Review* and *Public Opinion* in Jamaica. Also, some national newspapers in Sunday editions, the *Jamaica Gleaner*, *Trinidad Guardian* and *British Guyana Chronicle*, occasionally provided publishing opportunities. The more regular literary magazines included *Bim* from Barbados, *Kyk-over-al* from Guyana and the intermittently produced *Focus* in Jamaica.<sup>11</sup> There were, thus, few paid outlets or opportunities to be published or to obtain regular, informed

criticism. Two partial exceptions to the latter were the meetings of small groups of culturally minded individuals in self-appointed gatherings within each island and, occasionally, links by post between individuals who knew of each other's literary interest.

By 1948, Caribbean Voices had achieved a degree of popularity. As Swanzy himself noted, in one year: 'the programme space was doubled: half an hour a week and £30 in fees! But far more than the cash ... the isolated writer could believe that that someone cared.'<sup>12</sup> Thus, in these ways, the opportunity for the exercise of influence was certainly there. For example, Selvon, an early protégé of Swanzy, noted: 'The first payment I ever received for my writing was a cheque for two guineas from the BBC's *Caribbean Voices* programme produced by Henry Swanzy, which I treasured for months as a marvel before cashing it.'<sup>13</sup>

In 1951, at a PEN International literary luncheon in Jamaica in a talk on 'Writing for the BBC's *Caribbean Voices*' Cedric Lindo, journalist and husband of the official literary agent, Mrs G.R. Lindo, illustrated the nature of Swanzy's editorial role. On one hand he described Swanzy through the eyes of aspiring writers as an Olympian figure 'a hard to please, unpredictable and implacable arbiter safe in the fortress of Broadcasting House thousands of miles away from his baffled and disappointed contributors'. On the other, Lindo however also described the status of the programme in the region as 'probably the most profitable writing outlet for young writers of the Caribbean' and 'of real significance for the writers of this area'. He went on to observe that the programme meant more to writers than a profitable market; 'those interested in West Indian literature' he remarked, 'will have noticed the exodus of many of our best young writers to England and the fact that one of their first ports of call is Mr Swanzy's office at 200, Oxford Street is proof of this fact'. More significantly, he suggested, Jamaican members of the PEN club in his audience were especially interested in the answer to one question, 'What does Mr Swanzy want in the way of contributions?'

### The Practice of Shaping

Who then was this unpredictable and implacable arbiter, with the opportunity to influence the direction of Caribbean literature? And, indeed, what did he want? Swanzy had the experience and background, the sympathy and generosity to enhance what appeared to him as a variable, if potentially positive, literary environment for Caribbean literature both in the Caribbean and in London. Henry Valentine Leonard Swanzy was born in Ireland in 1915, the son of the Rev. S.I. Swanzy and Joan Frances Swanzy. In 1920, upon the death of his father he moved with his mother to England. He was a gifted student winning a number of scholarships throughout his educational career including a foundation scholarship at Wallington College and a Gibbs University Scholarship at New College, Oxford (where he obtained a first class honours degree in Modern History). His family had a

long association with West Africa. He joined the BBC in 1937 and became a Producer in the General Overseas Service in 1941, making a number of programmes in the 'Empire' field for the BBC. In 1946, he was appointed editor of *Caribbean Voices*. He brought to the programme editorial skills, considerable knowledge of Africa as well as effective promotional skills and a direct, deep and learned understanding of literature. He combined a self-effacing manner with a clear-sighted approach to his task.

During the time that he edited *Caribbean Voices* he also edited *West African Voices* for the Africa Service of the BBC and *African Affairs*, the journal of the Royal Society of Africa. This experience was combined with a generous spirit which many among the coterie of West Indian writers struggling to survive in London appreciated. Lamming has recalled how,

At one time or another, in one way or another, all the West Indian novelists have benefited from his work and his generosity of feeling ... If you looked a little thin in the face, he would assume that there might have been a minor famine on, and without in any way offending your pride, he would make some arrangement for you to earn ... by employing you to read.<sup>14</sup>

The knowledge and experience which his task entailed and the ideals which he held out for the programme were studiously played down in public by Swanzy. Although his role as editor of *Caribbean Voices* provided opportunities for self-promotion, he appeared to prefer to remain in the background, contributing when required but admitting merely to a technical and organizational role. In practice his skills of shaping were expressed more widely through his concern with identifiable standards, through his style of intervention and, directly, through his editing of manuscripts and his initiation of regular critical programmes.

The feature of his editorship which was dominant, however, was his overriding interest in the writers who contributed to the programme and his association with them. Swanzy was of the opinion that writers were important and needed to be nurtured because though they did not necessarily found a culture, they represented the expression of the best thought of the age.<sup>15</sup> Among the writers with whom he associated, both in Britain and in the Caribbean, he adopted the role of educator, advocate and collaborator. He was as aware of the needs of those who 'shine for a season as most people do who are not pretentious and write of what they know'<sup>16</sup> as he was of the needs of the 'stars'.

The term 'educator' is intended to reflect a number of approaches or methods of shaping that he brought to the job. These included the establishment of identifiable, metropolitan influenced standards, especially the development of a tradition through the provision of an informed critique both for the writers whose work was broadcast and those which were not; and thirdly, the shaping of a sense of community and ultimately the acceptance of the goal of an elevated literary achievement. These aims are captured in his observation: 'the purpose of the programme, in so far as it



has a purpose is to attempt to build up some kind of contemporary tradition by the exchange of writings between the islands and at the same time to give the writers the benefit of some of the critical standards of Europe. Of course the relationship is temporary; the real work can only properly be done in the Caribbean itself'.<sup>17</sup>

His aims were implemented in a number of ways. Firstly, Swanzy made no secret of what he did want from contributors. His first requirement was that the programme be filled with authenticity and local colour. By local colour he implied not necessarily topographical features but because

people write and speak best about the things they have made most their own, which in most cases are all the little details of personal living to which they bring almost automatically the writers discipline of speech and selection.<sup>18</sup>

His first letter to Mrs Lindo, returning refused manuscripts, pointed out what was to him their most important limitation 'I have been reading scripts which all have something in common, and that is a complete absence of local colour. This seems to me to be the greatest crime in the series unless of course the writer is a genius with a universal message'.<sup>19</sup>

Secondly, he carried through the practice of shaping by establishing a tradition of criticism. Swanzy argued at an early stage in his editorship 'If this programme is to be really effective in raising the literary standard of Caribbean circles I think it is important to have criticism. The most striking feature of the material I have seen so far, with few exceptions is its unevenness'.<sup>20</sup> A Critics Circle was started in July 1947 which offered reviews of recently published books by West Indian writers. Swanzy himself presented a six monthly review of material broadcast. These broadcasts were often published in the *Sunday Gleaner* in Jamaica and in *Bim*.

Critics were employed from the growing coterie of Caribbean writers resident in London. In addition, Arthur Calder-Marshall and Roy Fuller, were regular contributors to the programme. One theme of criticism, which Swanzy encouraged, was to point out why a story or poem was published. Early in his editorship he informed Mrs Lindo 'We don't want to give the impression that because a poem or short story is broadcast, it is necessarily altogether good. Frequently it is broadcast for one or two virtues which it might be useful to point out'.<sup>21</sup> In time, the circle was occasionally widened, critics Spender and Laski made contributions, the former discussed a selection of poetry, the latter a novel by Edgar Mittelholzer. These critics were introduced to provide links with the wider literary world and, in effect, recognition for Caribbean writers as equals in the metropolis.

Thirdly, Swanzy provided shape to the *melange* of Caribbean writing through his efforts to create a sense of community beyond what already existed in the islands. At a practical level this appears to have evolved through the character of the man and his position rather than being a conscious process. In London, as the circle of Caribbean writers grew in number, it was apparent in his willingness to provide what employment was



available for periodic readings, for participation in critical discussion on the air and in occasional social gatherings which he organized. Beyond the programme, he offered practical support, when, for a time in the early 1950s, Sam Selvon and Gordon Woolford's health declined.

The sense of community he fostered developed in a number of ways. In London, as the coterie of West Indian writers increased in number during the 1950s, Swanzy held informal evenings of literary discussion at his home. West Indian writers from across the region could, for the first time, meet and enter regular discussions with each other. In an interview for the BBC in 1966, Salkey described these gatherings in the following way.

Henry not only became our patron but our friend. He held tutorials at his house in Hampstead. He helped us a great deal to meet the critics of the day. He suggested books and so on ... And a very close compassionate look at our work. I think this has been invaluable in getting the writers started in writing novels and plays for the theatre ... Because of Henry's influence we got to know one another. I got to know the doyen of West Indian writing, Edgar Mittelholzer. I got to know people like V.S. Naipaul, George Lamming, Sam Selvon. We looked at each other's work, we all threatened to write the West Indian novel. And of course there was always Henry Swanzy there to make us realise that there was more than just passing responsibility to him, the BBC and to our area.<sup>22</sup>

A geographically wider sense of community of editors grew out of a close working relationship with Frank Collymore as editor of *Bim*. This link went far beyond any other link with literary editors in the region. Relations with the other editors ranged from cool with A.J. Seymour at *Kyk-over-al* to a suspected hostility from Edna Manley, the editor of *Focus* in Jamaica. Collymore and Swanzy corresponded regularly between 1948 and 1956. During this period there developed a long lasting mutual respect, interdependence and friendship between these two editors. In 1992, Swanzy expressed the relationship with Collymore in the following way.

Looking back, I do not know which I admire the more, his tastes (which coincided with mine!) or his magnanimity. Unlike so many literary people, he was perfectly ready to pass on names of unknown writers, for their sake, and not his ... So there was a two-way traffic between us: cash and publicity from the BBC office in Kingston, where Cedric Lindo played a key role, and credit and permanency from BIM. For good measure Colly's letters were full of his rich life, at school, in the theatre, in Barbados, in Dominica.<sup>23</sup>

Swanzy also initiated a tradition of supplying commentaries to *Bim* and the *Gleaner* in Jamaica. This practice of publishing half yearly criticism continued throughout the life of the programme.

For Swanzy radio was a means to the 'dignity' of print. In Collymore he found a like spirit who published selected items which were broadcast and introduced new writers from the Eastern Caribbean both through their work and through letters of introduction from Collymore to Swanzy when they were travelling to England. Lamming, 'Shake' Keane and Brathwaite were

all introduced in this way as they made their way to London.

The operation of that community network among these two editors can also be illustrated in connection with the excitement of discovering a new talent. Thus, it was to Swanzy, first, that Collymore wrote when he received from Harry Simmonds, the St. Lucian artist, copies of Walcott's '25 Poems'. The excitement was conveyed in the following way from Collymore to Swanzy.

Now I think I have made an important discovery. Last Monday Harold Simmonds of St. Lucia sent me a recently published volume of poems by young Derek Walcott. Have you heard of him? Walcott, who is nineteen years old tomorrow, writes with remarkable fervour. His literary forbears are obviously Hopkins, Auden and Dylan Thomas, especially the latter, but his work is obviously sincere and wonderfully mature ... I do not know when I have read anything so exciting. I have written Simmons to get more information about him, and to ask him to forward you a copy if he has not already done so.<sup>24</sup>

### The Outcome of Shaping

The first important outcome of Swanzy's intervention was that he stirred a debate about relevance and standards in Caribbean literature which continues to reverberate long after he departed the programme.<sup>25</sup> *Caribbean Voices* has been criticized for its colonial attitude to the region. Lamming identified in the programme a replication of metropolitan colonial relations analogous to the extraction of sugar cane. Thus, the BBC was accused of extracting the raw material of writers efforts in the Caribbean and, in return, the organization offered back to the region and its writers, over the radio, more refined versions of their work.<sup>26</sup> However, in contrast, Figueroa suggests that Swanzy's efforts to achieve as wide a literary contribution as possible, from both writers across the region and critics on the programme, disturbed and undermined the more conservative and snobbish colonial *literati* in the Caribbean.<sup>27</sup>

Cobham draws on the transcript archives of the programme to argue that the application of metropolitan standards and use of metropolitan critics resulted in some insensitivity to the versatility of Caribbean English language forms.<sup>28</sup> She contrasts this aspect of Swanzy's style of editorship with that of Naipaul. The latter, she argued, could advise on and reflect a greater sensitivity to the diverse language forms from the region. In addition, Swanzy has been criticised for giving insufficient recognition during his editorship to writing that emanated from the Caribbean which addressed universal themes.<sup>29</sup>

His defence of his interest in a local and specific focus was that an identifiable West Indian *weltanschauung* was in the making and it was inappropriate at that time to publish what would in effect be work indistinguishable from other writing from other parts of the world. Cobham hints that Swanzy's introduction of critics from the Caribbean could be construed as a way to avoid the unpleasantness of English critics rounding

on weak scripts emanating from the region.<sup>30</sup> An alternative and more positive interpretation of Swanzy's editorship, accepting the limited English ear for diverse Caribbean forms of English, stems from his feeling for struggling and committed writers and his willingness to support them in a practical way when possible. Lamming himself has recognized, for example, that without the financial support offered by the programme, *In The Castle Of My Skin* would have been difficult to complete.<sup>31</sup>

A second outcome was a clearing of space in which Caribbean writers could establish a legitimate claim for attention. Swanzy accepted that any intervention of the type that he directed from outside the Caribbean could only be temporary. But, as illustrated in his letter to Fuller, above, the real work of literary development, he recognised, remained to be carried out in the Caribbean itself. In the interim, Swanzy made a clearing by giving priority to the writers and by holding back the tide of commercialism of radio broadcasting so that some writers could break into the wider world of English metropolitan letters. This was an important outcome of his intervention which perhaps is reflected in the high level of appreciation and affection in which he continues to be held by writers of that era.

A third outcome was his influence on the nature of the audience for Caribbean literature. In some respects it is remarkable how little direct discussion there seems to have taken place around the nature of the audience for the programme. Few records appear to exist relating to discussion of the identity, size and interests of the audience. Occasionally, concern was expressed about the problem of rediffusing the programme, but the Caribbean audience appears not to have had a high profile. It is the wider audience which indirectly appears to have received more attention. The introduction of critics and critical metropolitan standards and the promotion of Caribbean writing in Swanzy's occasional articles all suggest a concern for writers foremost and an unselfish eye on a widening metropolitan market.

By championing the local and specific ways of saying and writing Swanzy made a major contribution to the development and accessibility of regional writing from the English speaking Caribbean to a wider audience. It is this process of shaping in all its dimensions which deserves recognition.

## NOTES

*The preparation of this paper owes much to the encouragement and constructive criticism of Professor John Figueroa and Dr. Anne Walmsley. Any errors and omissions are those of the author.*

\*NB. The Archive referenced in the notes is located in the University of Birmingham library. UB.

1. John Figueroa, *Caribbean Voices: an Anthology of West Indian Poetry*, 2 vols (London: Evans Brothers, 1966-70), I: *Dreams and Visions* (1966), II: *The Blue Horizons* (1970).

2. Anon, 'Caribbean Voices', *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 (1955), pp. xvi-xvii.
3. George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (London: Michael Joseph, 1960), p. 67.
4. V.S. Naipaul, Introduction in Shiva Naipaul, *The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976), pp. 9-10.
5. Anne Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists Movement 1966-1972: a Literary and Cultural History* (London: New Beacon Books, 1992).
6. R. Cobham, 'The Caribbean Voices programme and the Development of West Indian Short Story Fiction: 1945-1958', in *The Story Must be Told: Short Narrative Prose in the New English Literatures*, ed. by P.O. Stummer (Konigshausen and Neumann 1986).
7. John Figueroa, 'The Flaming Faith of These First Years: Caribbean Voices' in *Tibisiri: Caribbean Writers and Critics*, ed. by Maggie Butcher (Mundelstrup: Dangaroo Press, 1989).
8. D. Jarrett-Macauley, *The Biography of Una Marson: 1905-1965* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).
9. Henry Swanzy, 'The Islands of Calypso', *New Statesman*, 10 September 1960, pp. 350-351.
10. Cedric G. Lindo, Writing for the BBC's Caribbean Voices: talk to the Jamaica branch of the International P.E.N. Club, Kingston (unpublished 1951).
11. See R.W. Sander, 'The Thirties and Forties', in *West Indian Literature*, ed. by B. King (London: Macmillan, 1979); and Walmsley, *The Caribbean Artists*.
12. Swanzy, 'The Islands of Calypso' p. 350.
13. Sam Selvon, 'Finding West Indian Identity in London', *Kunapipi*, 9 (1987), 3, 34-38 (p. 34).
14. George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile*, p. 67.
15. Swanzy, 'The Islands of Calypso' p. 350.
16. Henry Swanzy, 'The Literary Situation in the Contemporary Caribbean' (*Books Abroad*, 30 (1956) pp. 266-274), reprinted in *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature*, eds A. Donnell and S.L. Welsh (London: Routledge, 1996) p.251.
17. Henry Swanzy, Swanzy to R. Fuller 3:5:'48, UB Archive\*
18. Henry Swanzy, 'Caribbean Voices: Prolegomena to a West Indian Culture', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 8 (1951), 2, 121-128 (p. 128).
19. Henry Swanzy, Swanzy to R.G. Lindo 13:8:'46, UB Archive\*.
20. Henry Swanzy, Swanzy to R.G. Lindo 6:8:'47, UB Archive\*.
21. Swanzy to R.G. Lindo 6:8:'47.
22. Andrew Salkey, Interview, 16 May 1966, Caversham House BBC Archives.
23. Henry Swanzy, 'A Letter', *Bim*, A 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Issue: 1942-1992, p.29.
24. Frank Collymore, Collymore to Swanzy, 21:1:'49, UB Archive\*; and Figueroa, 'The Flaming Faith', p. 59.
25. G. Rohlehr, *The Shape of That Hurt and Other Essays*, (Port-of-Spain: Longman 1992).
26. Cobham, p. 149.
27. Figueroa, 'The Flaming Faith', p. 66.
28. Cobham.
29. Figueroa, 'The Flaming Faith', p. 71
30. Cobham, p. 151.
31. George Lamming, Lecture delivered at the opening session of 'A Brighter Sun: A Celebration of the Life and Work of Sam Selvon', 24 June 1995, London, Purcell Room, South Bank Centre.